369 tionably larger than anything found in Bornu today. However,
162 as in all pre-industrial societies, the bulk of the population is engaged in agriculture and lives in the many small villages dotting the plain.

361 One can never travel far in Bornu without encountering a
[491] village. Major villages are linked to one another and to towns
[487] by laterite roads. Tiny villages are linked by a network of paths and tracks to one another. Surrounding each village
423 are the fields farmed by each family. Farm land can be had
425 by clearing the brush and making a plot ready for farming.
241 Since this is so easily done, land and its inheritance are not important determinants of the social structure. In theory,
[776] all land belongs to Allah and is in the hands of the Shehu of
[643] Bornu, the political and religious head of all Kanuri. The Shehu distributed large fiefs to Kanuri lords who gave the land to the village heads for distribution to individual villagers. In practice, any newcomer to a village has only to ask the village head for permission to farm and suitable land will be given to him which he must, of course, clear for planting. It naturally happens that those most recently arrived in a village will be given fields furthest from the houses, so that it is obvious that certain fields are more desirable than others. In a town of some size this becomes important. Distant fields may be up to three miles beyond the edge of town, and walking out and back each day to plant or to harvest is a demanding task.
241 Farm land, however, is never bought and sold. In the city this
425
[78]

425 practice is undergoing change. House plots in desirable loca-
241 tions in Maiduguri, the capital city, are bought and sold,
178 though in theory land for one's house is obtained in the same manner as farm land--by asking the village head for a site to build one's house.

2. Subsistence Economy and Cash Crops.

243 Millet is the staple crop of the Kanuri, and both sorghum (Sorghum vulgare) and pearl millet (Pennisetum spicatum) are
243 grown. Planting takes place immediately after the first rains
221 in May and the grain is harvested in September. The growing season is short as rain falls only in the months between May and September and not at all for the remainder of the year. Consequently there is only one crop during the year. Since millet grows without much attention, agricultural labor is
[462] needed only during planting, weeding, and harvesting. Men and women work together in the fields during these periods. Crops must be sown shortly after the onset of the rains for the growing time is relatively short and any delay in planting might reduce the exposure to rainfall which is necessary for a good harvest. Late planting in a year in which the total rainfall
[73] is slight can be disastrous for a family. Really bad years can mean famine, and though there has not been a major famine since World War I, that famine is remembered as a catastrophe. Older people calculate their age in relation to the year of the famine. In the villages millet which a family harvests in Septem-

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556 The Kanuri have long had markets and used money, but the use of
436
437 money is limited to certain spheres of Kanuri culture. Money
425 is used primarily as a medium for the exchange of goods. Its use has just begun to be extended to certain types of land, as noted above, but not all land can be freely bought and sold.
46 Similarly, a man's labor is not usually hired according to
556 Kanuri custom. Wealth, therefore, can be acquired through eco-
565 nomic activities in the market, but the means for doing this are largely limited to the exchange of goods at a profit. A man cannot acquire greater wealth by using his previously acquired wealth to buy land, and then use the land which he has bought to further increase his wealth. Nor can he directly exploit the labor of other men by paying a cheap price for labor, and selling the products resulting from the labor of others at
46 a profit. Labor, as explained in the section on the Kanuri
556 household, is what one must do for one's household head; the
592 head in return must provide for household members in various
565 ways. Sheer accumulation of greater and greater wealth would not be possible, since the household head must constantly expend his resources to maintain his social position and to satisfy the expectations of the members of his household.

554 Respect or prestige (Kanuri: <u>barzam</u> or <u>darcja</u>) is a qual-
565 ity assigned to different positions in a society according to the cultural values of that society. Individuals of high prestige are expected to behave in certain ways, and failure to do

42 has built, as it was built through his labor or his money.
[435] Since there is great pressure for desirable house sites, an old house which is no longer worth much but is located on a good site will be sold for an amount far exceeding the value of the house itself. To all intents and purposes the owner is selling
42 226 the land on which the house stands. Fishing sites along the river are under the "ownership" of the Lowans, and sites are given to people to use. Fishing sites are inherited but may not be sold.

• 425 178 As was pointed out earlier, land is increasingly viewed as a commodity which can be bought and sold. Original Kanuri ideas about land have been undergoing change. Just as house sites within the town are sold, so too farm land is sold under
425 67 [631] certain conditions. The legality of these proceedings, according to Kanuri law, is still somewhat vague. A stranger coming to Geidam will be given land to farm only if he intends to remain in Geidam and will pay his haraji there. A Geidam man who moves elsewhere, and does not intend to return, will consequently be paying his haraji in the new town where he will settle. He
[427] forfeits the rights which he held to farmland in Geidam. Nor may he sell that land except under special conditions. However, one Geidam man may give, rent or sell his farm land to another Geidam man. Both, of course, continue to pay haraji in Geidam. According to the Alkali of Geidam, sale of farm land is legally viewed in the following manner: if a man's father worked a piece of land and he in turn inherited that land, his possession of the

[GEIDAM]

425 671 land is sufficiently old so that he can sell the land if he wishes to. If a man works a piece of land for a long time (for ten years, for example) he can sell it. But in a recent legal case a policeman who worked in Geidam was given land by the Lowan. After a year he left Geidam for Maiduguri and sold the land. The Alkali ruled that he had not had the land for a sufficiently long period of time to enable him to sell it, and forced him to return the sum of money which was paid to him by the new owner.

425 695

241 565 592 Land is farmed under a variety of conditions. Talaka farm the land themselves with the help of wives and children. A wealthy man, however, may take a very large section of farm land from the Lowan, which he will not work personally. Instead the members of his household, his many tata njima, farm his land for him. His tata njima work on the farm of the household head because this is one of their duties. They receive no payment in the form of a share of the crops for their labor. Some wealthy men may not have very large households of their own, and may hire day laborers to work for them. This, too, is a new approach to labor for the Kanuri. A man with a very large farm who does not intend to use all of his land himself can rent out sections, particularly if his land is in a very favorable location. The renter pays a fixed sum to the owner, and the crops belong entirely to him. No form of share-cropping is practiced.

[965] 241 565 464 [578] 241 427

241 434 [423] The Ajia of Geidam has huge sections of land alloted to him. Any of his people, his slaves, his kabuna or others attached to

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882 ber because he still does chores for him, and claims to give the senior about fifteen per cent of his receipts. Furthermore, he does not yet know how to cut face-marks, remove uvula, or perform circumcisions, and thus attends all these ceremonies with his senior barber in order to continue his education. He hopes that by next year he may be allowed to perform some of these operations under supervision. When he has finished his education, it will not be necessary to do anything for the senior. However, he will always pay respect to his ex-teacher for many years to come.

Other apprentices, who were living with strangers, but had gone into the same occupation as their fathers, claimed that they were freer in this situation than if they were in training in their own house-
882 holds. They also stated that it "was nice" (kòji) to travel around and
(821) see other places in Bornu. The "freedom" was observed to refer to sexual experimentation, not discipline-respect with the compound head. As we have mentioned, it is considered shameful for children to discuss or acknowledge directly any marriage plans or sexual behaviour in the presence of parents. In some of these cases the mobility is explained by the fact that the boy's father was dead and his mother or grandparent has sent him off to a relative or a friend in order to learn the dead father's craft. In general, the boy completes his learning of agricultural skills, the planting, hoeing and harvesting of the various crops, as well as the clearing of new land in this
(425) period. Most often during his adolescence he acquires one or more plots of land of his own, either through inheritance, from the local political leader, by purchase or gift, or by going farther afield from his village and clearing new bushland. He also becomes acquainted with

634 571 contiguous households close to their superior's residence. The organization has a Wakil as its sub-head who acts as DH on the few occasions when the DH is absent from his District headquarters. The general term for all male members of this extended household organization is waladai (roughly non-kin follower) or tada Ajiabe (sons or boys [554] of the DH). The waladai, whether slave or freeborn, are also called ko'una if they have been given a horse by the DH which gives them a higher status than the unhorsed members of the organization. In Magumeri a few of these followers have joined the DH during their own lives, most other freeborn as well as slave, are hereditary followers of this particular DH and his father before him.

Collectively the members of this group are referred to by non-members as tada Ajiabe. When they are older and married with farms (given to them by the DH)(1) and perhaps have some dry season activity, they are at first glance hardly distinguishable from ordinary peasants. However, unlike ordinary peasants, the DH uses them as messengers and helpers in nomad cattle tax services. They in turn never fail to ride in a gallop in the DH's honour, if they have a horse. Furthermore, they must be ready and willing to move with their leader to a new District should he be stationed elsewhere. Younger members who live 634 571 561 either in the DH's compound or with older members of the organization are often feared by respectable townsfolk. They have no farms, no wives, and no households of their own. They talk, play cards, drink, look for amorous experiences, and are felt to be spies for the DH.

[423] [425] (1) Within the available land of the District Headquarters there is an acreage which is under the direct dispensation of the DH and beyond the jurisdiction of the Lawan. The DH may also appropriate farm land for his own use or dispensation beyond the borders of present farming activities in the District capital.

342 the house often aided by the wives of the sarwa participants cook a large
476 meal for the men who build the house. Materials are bought by the own-
565 er. This method is only practised in the construction of house types
342 "A" and "B". Secondly, building with mud is carried out by specialists
331 and they must be employed and paid to build the house. However, this
565 requirement is not clearcut; specialists are also used to construct house types "A" and "B", especially "B" which is a larger and more complicated variety. The determining variable for the use of specialists is social status. The higher the status of a male householder, the less likely is he to use a sarwa and the more likely is he to utilise specialist la-
[369] bour. Today in the cities, southern Nigerians, especially Ibo contract-
[563] ors, as well as a few Hausa and Kanuri, contract with both the govern-ment and private indivudals to build houses using combinations of both traditional and western building techniques and design.

423 Rent is paid in the cities where houses are regularly pur-
[427] chased and sold by private persons. In rural areas, in the villages
[369] and hamlets, there is no need for house rental, since new housing is cheap and land is not scarce in or near the settlement. Land rights in Bornu are not, however, so simple, for the Kanuri do not operate their system of land tenure under one definite set of rules. The primary criterion for land ownership is usufruct. The land is given to the pea-
[425] sant by the political leader of the community. The peasant and his de-scendants hold this property for as long as they maintain its use, giving
423 the feudal leader a tithe every year on the produce. In Magumeri, the
632 Lawan (Village Head) has nominal control over all free land within a radius of about three-quarters of a mile from the town. Farms within this circle are called kulo fatobe (compound or "House" farms), while those beyond are called kulo karabe (bush farms). Permission should be sought

425 Permission should be sought for a new farm in either area. However, land obtained from the Lawan
632 in the "house" farm section is already cleared and bounded into plots;
423 this type of acquisition is thought and spoken of as a bequest. On the other hand, permission to use bush land is not so much a grant from the Lawan as a formal recognition of his political leadership in the community. Furthermore, bushland must be cleared and the act of clearing is a traditionally accepted criterion for the establishment of property rights.

423 The "house" farms are not be confused with the small garden
241 plots kept usually by women inside the compound walls.(1) These latter plots are planted with early maturing maize, millet and vegetables, which are used for easing the hard times before the harvest and as a
423 private source of income by women. To the Kanuri, the word fato used
[829] to describe a piece of land adjacent to the town or village reflects their conception of the settlement as a set of extended patrilocal households. The lands immediately adjacent to a stable settlement are owned by the long term resident households and passed on to descendants. These people also own bush farms but can be distinguished from more recent arrivals to the town by their ownership of plots in the house farm area.

423 The difference between bush and "house" farms can thus be
829 seen in Kanuri eyes as a difference in social identification. A "house" farm represents older, more integrated membership in the community, while a bush farm indicates newness or transience. The former means a working relationship, not only a formal one, between the owner and the

[192] (1) There is no difficulty here if the term is translated literally; fatobe - of the compound, i.e. the genitive case, meaning the farm of the compound. In-the-compound would require the use of the Kanuri word suro - in or inside of.

423 are not in conflict, then no trouble emerges from these potentially conflicting criteria of land ownership.

• 425 428 [182] The following table, indicating sources of land acquisition, demonstrates the fact that for the most part Kanuri land tenure is closely related to traditional modes of socio-political organization.

TABLE XVII

Table of Modes of Land Acquisition for Seventy-five Cultivators

(1)

Occupation	No. of plots	Inherited #	Inherited %	From pol. leader ∮ #	From pol. leader ∮ %	Cleared bush #	Cleared bush %	Bought or given as a gift #	Bought or given as a gift %	% of row totals
farmers	48	31	64.6	7	14.6	9	18.8	1	2.1	100.0%
craftsmen	27	17	62.9	10	37.1	0	-	0	-	100.0%
traders	26	14	53.9	5	19.2	5	19.2	2	7.7	100.0%
pol. & rel. specialists	23	10	43.5	10	43.5	2	8.7	1	4.3	100.0%
Totals	124	72	58.1	32	25.8	16	12.9	4	3.2	100.0%

∮ From Lawan or Bulama.

The table indicates that 58.1% of all farm land in the three towns examined was acquired through inheritance, i.e. kinship affiliation, while an additional 25.8% was obtained through some political relationship between the cultivator and his local leader. In other words, 83.9% of all land was acquired by producers as a result of their traditional roles in either the kinship or political organization of the rural scene, whereas only 16.1% of the land holdings were the result of individual effort, purchase or gift.

425 It should also be noted that the 25.8% of all land obtained from political leaders refers to cleared, bounded plots, not bushland.

425 571 The high proportion of land obtained by political and religious specialists from the political leader reflects the social relations of these informants, many of whom have a close subordinate relationship to followers and supporters of the Lawan of their town.

241 [651] [134] Operating costs for rural farm plots are governed by two factors. Firstly, there are tithes (zakat) which all farmers pay to their local political leader as a form of traditional tax. Secondly, there is soil depletion which brings decreasing results for equal effort through [433] time. Thus even with proper planting, weeding and harvesting, the yield on a one acre plot of millet may range from eighty to four hundred pounds of threshed product, while the range for groundnuts is almost as large (one hundred and ten to three hundred and fifty pounds of decorticated 242 nuts per acre). Farm plots are generally used for three to five year 425 571 periods and then left fallow for four to six years. It should be noted that this soil depletion factor tends to activiate the political organization.(1) The farmer requiring new land generally seeks the advice of his local political leader as to whether to clear new bush land or perhaps take up some unused old plot already cleared, if such be available.(2)

423 In summary, land in Bornu can be categorized under four headings: (1) private property, which today refers primarily to house sites in large cities: these are not deeded but they can be rented or sold in a commercial transaction; (2) usufruct property, that is owned because the holder uses it, or cleared it from the bush; this also refers to

[631] (1) Increased numbers in the household operates to the same effect.
(2) In order to avoid the anomaly of a higher political authority having to ask a lower one for favours, in places like Magumeri which house a District Head, a large section of land is set aside for the use of the incumbent D.H. and his subordinates. Thus the followers of the D.H. may apply directly to him rather than the local Lawan for land use rights. N.A. employees have their choice, they may ask the D.H. or the Lawan if they wish to obtain farm plots. In all these cases it is understood that tithing is unnecessary, for none of the persons involved are "peasants of Lawan".

423 rural house sites; (3) resting land which is owned through usufruct right but whose soil is depleted; (4) virgin land between settlements, 425 which is open to ownership through the operation of usufruct rights. Finally, land may be transferred through inheritance, allocation by political leaders, clearing of bush and sale or gift.

Labour

464 874 241 464 476 Besides his own efforts, the Kanuri male householder can obtain help for his craft work from apprentices, who have entered his service. On his farm he may get extra labour from: (1) his wife or wives; (2) other compound members, such as apprentices, wives' relatives, or his own kinsmen or children, if these latter are old enough to contribute; (3) hired labourers who may work either on a contract price for the entire job, or by the day; (4) the co-operative work group (serwa) mentioned above. These people are not necessarily of the same age group. They help one another at farming, building and fixing houses, compound walls and other jobs requiring collective effort. Serwa are easily joined and as easily left and may have a long or a short life depending upon the interest of the members in obtaining such a labour source, as well as upon social and physical mobility of individual group members. The following table indicates the sources of labour utilized by the seventy-five farm owners in the survey.

TABLE XVIII

Table Showing Numbers and Percentages of Cultivators Utilizing the Four Kinds of Labour Sources, in the Farm Survey

Occupation	N	Men using wives		Men using others in compound		Men using labourers		Men using serwa	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
farmers	25	25	100	13	52	8	32	15	60
craftsmen	16	16	100	12	75	7	44	9	56
traders	17	17	100	13	77	12	71	6	35
political and religious spec.	17	16	94	5	29	6	35	6	35
Totals	75	74	98	43	57	33	44	36	48

433 open a path to further differentiation in production, which has been accelerated by the flexibility of the productive organisation, and the introduction of many new occupations, as well as western education.

[425] 3. Political relations; although the largest single factor among rural cultivators in land transfer is inheritance, 2% of the sample survey acquired land through their relationships to political leaders. For many people, political relations are fairly stable. However, for the newcomer, or those who develop hostile relations with their leaders, this factor may vary a person's access to some of the productive land.

178 433 434 Kanuri production, like their consumption, is at a comparatively low level. Although there has been some expansion in the last two decades, increases in consumptive wants have for the most part been met by the general rise in world prices which has given the economy a rising income level in relation to costs of traditional necessities. This phenomenon has caused the people of Bornu to pass beyond a "point of no return" in so far as rising world prices have stimulated and helped meet new wants. As we have said, the expansion of wants is continuing; if the prices of cash cropping levels off or drops, Kanuri production will rise to fill the gap, and/or social unrest, opposition movements to government, and general dissatisfaction with things as they are will also increase.

433 Even though the relation of agricultural to non-agricultural production is highly flexible, the level of production is not. The amount produced is limited by technology, cottage industry, attitudes to work and the present low cost of living.

441 To the Kanuri, trade is an occupation among others in their society, and traders are identified linguistically by the commodity they deal in, or if these are many, then simply by the general term for trader.